

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
19 June 1967

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Arab-Israeli Situation Report
(As of 4:30 p.m. EDT)

1. Kosygin's address at the UNGA today was harsh toward Israel but on the whole temperate in its references to the US role in the Middle East.
2. In leveling his attack on Israel, Kosygin asked the Assembly to (1) condemn Israeli aggression, (2) demand Israeli withdrawal to the armistice lines, and (3) force Israel to compensate the Arabs for their losses. The first two have become routine and were expected. The third is a new angle which the Soviets have not mentioned before and which presumably they will elaborate in further discussions. Kosygin said nothing at all about Israeli access to either the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba.
3. The Soviets did not commit themselves directly on the issue of direct Arab-Israeli negotiations. The Arabs will get no comfort, however, from Kosygin's recitation of why the Soviets recognized Israel in 1948 and his statement that "every people enjoys the right to establish an independent national state of its own."
4. Whether Kosygin intended to keep the door open for private talks with the US, the speech did not appear to bar them. He did not refer to President Johnson's address earlier in the day, but in a somewhat obscure reference to the undesirability of the Middle East arms race, he seemed to indicate a common concern over that problem, which the President had listed as one of his five points.

State Dept. review completed

5. Kosygin also may have been leaving room for some further exploration of bilateral or other big-power talks when he indicated the USSR might be ready to work with other countries on settling Arab-Israeli problems, saying that it would be good if the great powers "found common language to reach decisions meeting the interests of peace in the Middle East and the interests of universal peace."

6. The procedural situation in New York is still unclear, but it would appear that the public part of the proceedings will continue as a more or less formalized debate for several days. Although the Italian mission was authorized over the weekend to make an attempt to broaden the agenda beyond the Soviet proposal for condemnation of Israel and withdrawal of its forces, it has not yet moved to do this. Ambassador Vinci told Ambassador Goldberg on 17 June the Latin Americans and even some of the moderate Arabs had advised him not to try to "make points on the agenda", but to stick to substantive proposals. Unless he receives other instructions, he evidently intends to do this for the time being at least.

7. Although the USSR de facto moved under the Unit- ing for Peace resolution to bring the Middle Eastern situ- to the Assembly and thus gave the impression of clearing the legal decks for some specific action by it, prelim- inary analysis of the Soviet resolution suggests Moscow still only wishes the Assembly to lend moral support for action which will be taken elsewhere. While the resolu- tion would have the Assembly strongly condemn Israeli aggression, demand that Israel immediately and uncondit- ionally withdraw its forces, and demand that Israel give full restitution, it "appeals to the Security Council to undertake on its part immediate effective measures" to eliminate the consequences of the aggression committed by Israel. Any UN action would therefore still depend on the Security Council, and Moscow seems not only aware of its shaky legal position in going to the Assembly, but

[redacted]

also fully conscious of its past opposition to any significant role for the Assembly.

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9. On the question of arms control measures in the area, Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik -- prior to his departure for New York -- told Ambassador Green that "any efforts toward weapons control in the Middle East would be pretty fruitless and would distract attention from the central issues."

10. Malik said he is opposed to any condemnation of Israel as an aggressor since this could lead to no constructive result. The Arab ambassadors in Djakarta had been told, Malik said, that there can be no peace in the Middle East unless the Arabs are willing to accept the fact of Israel's existence and "not seek to push it into the sea." [redacted]

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11. The Latin Americans -- who in general desire to maintain a "moderate and discreet" attitude in the Assembly debate -- tried, prior to today's session, to

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[REDACTED]

arrange discussions on the Middle East with the Western Europeans and others at the UN. After being advised that no such groups were functioning for consultation purposes during the emergency special session, the Latin Americans made plans to meet with a more restricted group which includes Canada, Austria, Japan, and Italy.

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13. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The Japanese ambassador in Saudi Arabia, meanwhile, who is leaving for New York to be the "Arab expert" on the Japanese delegation, told the US ambassador that Japan's position is one of "neutrality," but that the Japanese delegation will "probably ultimately have to go along with the Afro-Asian bloc." He thought the latter is likely to be considerably influenced by the Soviet position.

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15. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] a meeting of the Soviet party central committee will be held Tuesday and Wednesday on the Middle East situation. While it is unusual for a central committee plenum to be held in the absence of one of the top leaders, a formal statement from this body would be intended to reinforce Premier Kosygin's efforts in the UN. It would bring the full weight of party authority behind the Soviet government's position, probably in more strident terms than Kosygin used in New York.

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16. A plenum at this time would also serve to underscore the primacy of the party and General Secretary Brezhnev in the formulation of foreign policy. At least in public, Brezhnev has thus far taken a back seat to Kosygin in the current crisis. A plenum at which Brezhnev would surely be the dominant figure, would provide him with an excellent forum to redress the balance.

17. The Egyptian cabinet change appears to be a consolidation of the Egyptian leadership. Nasir now is wearing three hats -- as president, as prime minister for the first time since 1954, and as secretary-general of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), the country's mass political movement. Pro-Soviet Ali Sabri, former secretary of the ASU, is now included in the cabinet as a third deputy prime minister. Zakariya Muhi al-Din, who was named by Nasir to succeed, is the first named deputy prime minister, and apparently will be the executive officer of the cabinet. The majority of the cabinet was unchanged. Former deputy foreign minister Mahmud Fawzi was named as special assistant to Nasir for foreign affairs.

18. Last week's purge of generals -- led by Marshall Amir, which included a number with pro-Soviet inclinations, may have been carried out at the insistence of the military. The new heads of the Air Force and Navy, and the assistant commander of the Armed Forces, are reported to be anti-Communist, although Arab Nationalist in their beliefs.

19. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Cairo press reports that all Arab states except Algeria and Syria have notified Khartoum of their agreement to a summit conference and it quotes Algeria's foreign minister as stating that Algeria "has its own opinion" on summit conferences and that "this opinion has not changed."

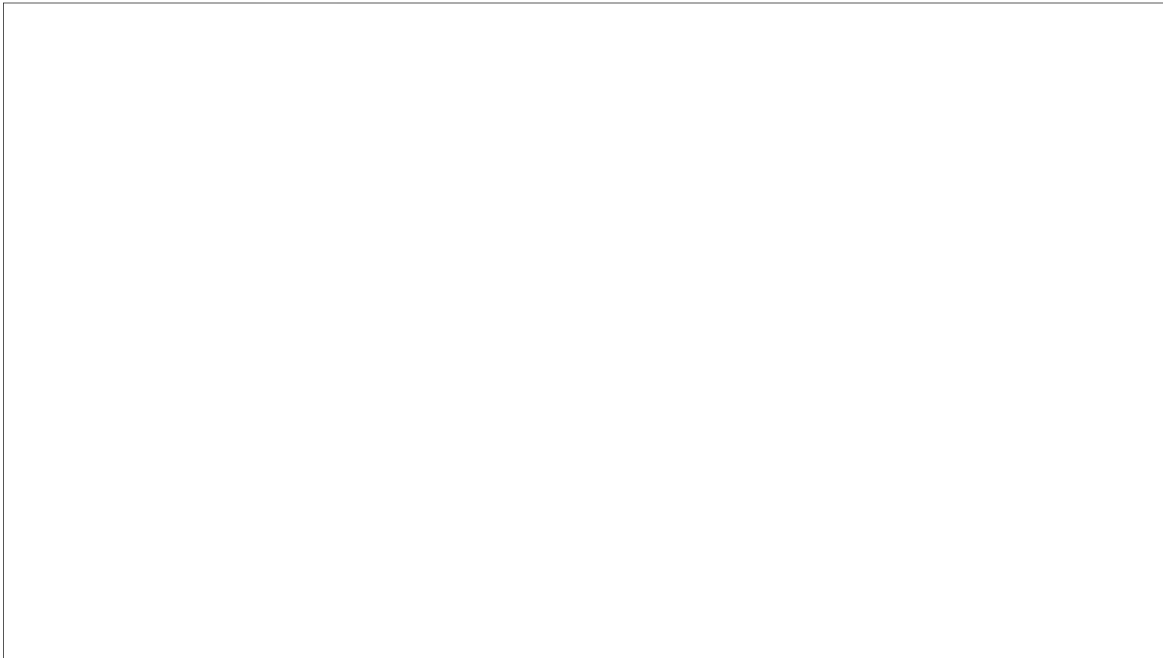
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22. The Arabs may soon launch a guerrilla warfare campaign against Israel.



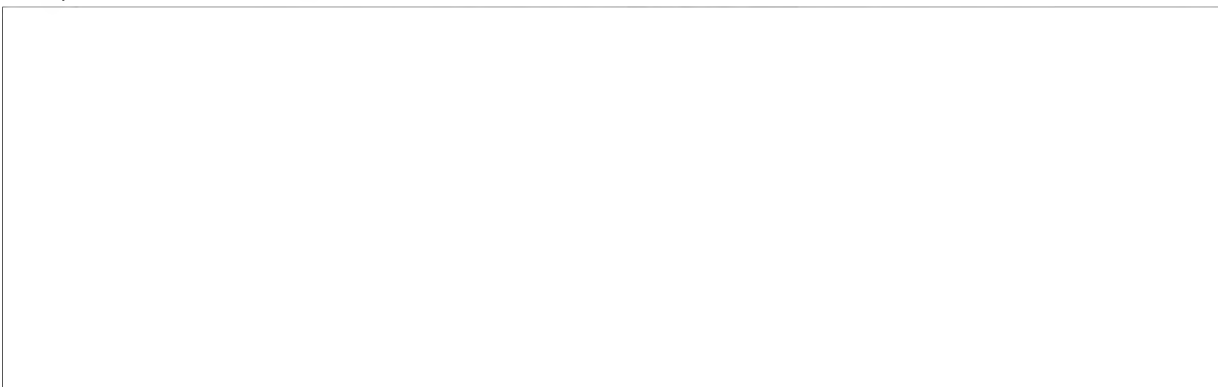
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In a press interview today King Husayn of Jordan said the forthcoming Arab summit conference would decide such questions as the "second round" with Israel and the call by Algeria and Syria for guerrilla warfare behind Israeli lines.

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